361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes:—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [358 552] [202]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukal' is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance.

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties.

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters.

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk

AL HEIK.

619 631 101 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shibeir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 433 438 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 465 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 162 361 651 652 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

6 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM2

tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class. The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed
439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terîm in so short a time.
[436] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the
● 465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very
331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country.
342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

there are still slaves in the Hadramaut but
sweeper class, they are not untouchables unlike the

The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalise. They are a charming people, and civilised. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand years. To an ever-increasing degree the Protectorate and South Yemen have become economically dependent on the port of Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country villages. The villager will go to Aden and earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made communications between the towns much easier; the aeroplane, too, has made a difference to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21

population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture involving about 90 per cent. of the population. Other occupations are dyeing, weaving and the preparation of hides and skins. Wages vary greatly from 12 as. to Rs. 1.8.0. Working hours vary, being about 60 hours a week from April to October and less from November to March.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

The following are summaries of expenditure in the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorate budgets (1947–48):

Western Aden Protectorate

	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	26,346
Government Guards	42,322
Subsidies to local forces	5,474
Medical	5,373
Education	2,121
Aden Protectorate College	3,795
Agriculture	12,641
W/T Establishment	981
TOTAL	99,053

Eastern Aden Protectorate

	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	18,598
Military Hospital	887
Hadhrami Bedouin Legion	15,397
Subsidies to local forces	7,761
Medical	445
Education	3,384
Agriculture	750
Miscellaneous Services Subsidies	730
Relief Works	84,037
TOTAL	131,979

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2

721 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and
648 agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil
and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce
619 drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led
721 to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had
619 refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring.
Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a
467 boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1949–50	1950–51
	£	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	45,313	64,026
Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment)	60,754	75,051
Subsidies to local forces	5,257	3,638
Medical	6,964	7,005
Education	3,030	3,926
Aden Protectorate College	3,614	3,681
Agriculture	10,245	11,172
	135,177	168,499

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

PART V

Chapter 1: Population

161 THE population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1951–52 £	1952–53 £
Staff and Miscellaneous	40,706	51,054
Government Guards (including W/T establishments)	68,602	84,858
Subsidies to Local Forces	3,411	2,801
Health	7,315	16,110
Education	3,213	7,753
Aden Protectorate College	2,229	—
Agriculture	10,158	14,083
	135,624	176,659